

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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R 241804Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2227

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: PROPOSED SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR

1. SEVERAL WEEKS AGO I AGREED TO GIVE A SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN CLUB OF LISBON ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26. THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED SPEECH, REPEATED IN THIS CABLE, WAS DRAFTED PRIOR TO THIS WEEKEND.

2. AT THIS POINT I INTEND TO GO AHEAD WITH SPEECH, UNLESS THE DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTS OTHERWISE. TEXT WILL BE MODIFIED AS REQUIRED BY DEVELOPING SITUATION. I WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON DRAFT.

3. BEGIN TEXT

1. I APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE A FEW MOMENTS TO SHARE MY THOUGHTS WITH YOU ABOUT US RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL.

2. IT IS AWFULLY EASY IN THESE KINDS OF SITUATIONS TO GET YOURSELF CAUGHT UP WITH THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM AND, IN PARTICULAR, WITH YOUR OWN PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT. LIKE ANY HUMAN BEING, I AM ALSO SUBJECT TO THIS TENDENCY. SO AS I TRY TO THINK THROUGH THE ISSUES THAT FACE US, I FIND IT USEFUL TO GO BACK TO

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CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL POINTS.

3. THE FIRST IS THAT PORTUGAL IS NOT A NEWLY EMERGING NATION. IT IS A COUNTRY WITH A RICH HISTORY, A FASCINATING CULTURE AND A DEEP TRADITION. AS A NEWCOMER HERE ONE CANNOT HELP BUT BE IMPRESSED WITH THE HISTORICAL MOMENTS THROUGH WHICH THIS COUNTRY HAS PASSED. I CONSTANTLY FIND MY IMAGINATION STIRRED AS, ON THE WEEKENDS, I WALK THROUGH ST. GEORGE, THE ALFAMA AND JERONIMOS ABBEY. IN LOOKING AT THE FUTURE IT IS IMPORTANT TO BEAR THIS IN MIND; THE PORTUGUESE ARE A HIGHLY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE WITH A DEEP SENSE OF HISTORY AND CULTURE.

4. THE SECOND FACT IS THAT PORTUGAL IS AN OLD AND VALUED FRIEND WHOSE TIES WITH THE US DATE BACK MANY DECADES. THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE ITS OWN UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO OUR CULTURE, AND YOU AS AMERICANS IN PORTUGAL HAVE MADE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND GROWTH OF THIS COUNTRY.

5. THE THIRD IS THAT PORTUGAL'S HISTORY, CULTURE AND ECONOMY ARE INEXTRICABLY TIED TO WESTERN EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. WE CAN UNDERSTAND AND SYMPATHIZE WITH PORTUGAL'S DESIRE TO EXPAND ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, BUT WE ALSO WELCOME PORTUGUESE EXPRESSIONS OF INTENT TO REMAIN TRUE TO ITS EUROPEAN HERITAGE.

6. THE FOURTH REALITY IS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN OBVIOUS INTEREST IN NATO AS PART OF OUR OWN NETWORK OF SECURITY. WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE CONTRIBUTION PORTUGAL HAS MADE TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENTS AND GESTURES OF SUPPORT FOR NATO. DESPITE THE FEARS OF MANY, EXERCISE "LOCKED GATE" WENT OFF WITHOUT A HITCH AND WAS AN IMPORTANT BAROMETER OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD NATO.

7. THE FIFTH POINT IS THAT PORTUGAL IS UNDERGOING A REAL REVOLUTION. THE 25TH OF APRIL WAS NOT A COUP D'ETAT IN THE SENSE THAT ITS MAKERS WERE SEEKING POWER. THEY APPROACHED THEIR TASK WITH A NEW VISION FOR PORTUGAL, A VISION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE THAT WILL CORRECT MANY OF THE INJUSTICES THAT YOU AND I KNOW EXISTED IN THE PAST. ANY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE, PARTICULARLY WHEN A PEOPLE HAVE JUST EMERGED FROM 48 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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YEARS OF AUTHORITARIAN RULE, CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO BE A SMOOTH OR EASY PROCESS.

8. CONTRARY TO SOME PRESS REPORTS THAT I HAVE READ, THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER HAD A "WAIT-AND-SEE" POLICY TOWARD PORTUGAL. WE ONLY NEED TO RE2READ THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE AFTER PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES' VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES LAST OCTOBER TO SEE WHAT THE ESSENTIAL GUIDELINES OF US POLICY HAVE BEEN FOR SOME TIME.

IN THIS STATEMENT, I QUOTE, "PRESIDENT FORD EXPRESSED HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE STATESMANSHIP SHOWN BY PORTUGUESE LEADERS IN UNDERTAKING TO RESTORY DEMOCRACY TO PORTUGAL BY HOLDING FREE ELECTIONS SOON AND IN MAKING POSSIBLE THE ENJOYMENT OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE BY THE PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL'S OVERSEAS TERRITORIES." THE STATEMENT FURTHER SAYS THAT "AS THESE DEVELOPMENTS PROCEED IT WOULD BE IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST TO INTENSIFY THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES TO EMBRACE NEW ACTIVITIES IN A BROAD RANGE OF AREAS, SUCH AS EDUCATION, HEALTH, ENERGY, AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS."

9. CONSISTENT WITH TMISHPOLICY I SET AS ONE OF MY EARLY OBJECTIVES THE FORMULATION OF AN AID PROGRAM THAT WOULD MEET THE PRIORITIES OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT. I EMPHASIZE THE LATTER POINT BECAUSE FROM TIME TO TIME US AID PROGRAMS ARE TAILORED TO FIT OUR OWN PRECONCEPTIONS, AND DO NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SUFFICIENTLY THE VIEWS AND DESIRES OF THE HOST COUNTRY. CONSEQUENTLY WE HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN EXTENSIVE DIALOGUE ON THE AID PROGRAM AT ALL LEVELS OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE TECHNICIANS. IT EMERGED FROM THIS DIALOGUE THAT ONE OF THE HIGHEST PORTUGUESE PRIORITIES WAS IN THE AREA OF HOUSING.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2228

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10. THE OVERALL HOUSING NEED IN PORTUGAL IS ESTIMATED AT 500,000 UNITS FOR BOTH URBAN AND RURAL AREAS. ALTHOUGH NO STATISTICS ARE AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT THIS FIGURE, IT SEEMS REASONABLE BASED ON OUR OBSERVATION SNA DISCUSSIONS. 500,000 UNITS WOULD MEAN THAT SOME 20 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF ABOUT 9 MILLION IS ILL HOUSED AND WITHOUT ADEQUATE SANITARY SERVICES.

11. IN THE LISBON AREA THERE IS AN ESTIMATED EXISTING NEED OF SOME 40,000 TO 50,000 UNITS WHICH WOULD REPRESENT ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION (METROPOLITAN AREA). THIS COULD BE CONSERVATIVE DEPENDING ON THE DEFINITION USED FOR "SUB-STANDARD" HOUSING. OPORTO WOULD HAVE A NEED FOR ABOUT 15,000 UNITS USING THE SAME 20 PERCENT OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS IN CALCULATING THE NEED.

12. THE NEED IN BOTH OF THESE CITIES IS INCREASING AS A RESULT OF THE FORMATION OF NEW HOUSEHOLDS, MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS AND THE RETURN OF PORTUGUESE NATIONALS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

13. HOUSING OF COURSE HAS ANOTHER BENEFIT. CONSTRUCTION IS QUICKLY AND EASILY TRANSLATED INTO INCREASED EMPLOYMENT, AND PORTUGAL LIKE THE UNITED STATES HAS AN UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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14. AS OUR HOUSING PROGRAM IS NOW DESIGNED IT WILL CONSIST OF TWO PARTS. THE FIRST PART WOULD BE A DIRECT GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT 25-YEAR LOAN FOR DOLS 7 MILLION AT 5 PERCENT INTEREST WITH A FIVE-YEAR GRACE PERIOD. THE SECOND PART WOULD BE A DOLS 20 MILLION LOAN GUARANTEE. UNDER THIS PART OF THE PROGRAM THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT WOULD FIND ITS OWN COMMERICAL LENDER IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD PROVIDE A LETTER OF GUARANTEE TO THAT LENDER. THUS THE FUNDS WOULD BE OBTAINED AT MARKET RATE, PRESUMABLY SOMEWHERE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF 9 PERCENT.

15. THE OTHER PARTS OF THE AID PROGRAM CONSIST OF ONE AND A QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS DESTINED FOR PORTUGUESE AFRCAN TERRITORIES, A 750 THOUSAND DOLLAR AGREEMENT ALREADY SIGNED TO PROVIDE GRANTS FOR THE TRAINWNG OF PORTUGUESENTECHNICIANS IN THE UNITED STATES AND FOR VISITS OF US EXPEGTS TO PORTUGAL, AND A ONE MILLION DOLLAR LOAN ALSO SIGNED, FOR FEASIBILITY STUDIES AND CONSULTING SERVICES IN A VARIETY OF AREAS.

16. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ASKED THE CONGRESS FOR AN ADDITIONAL 15 MILLION DOLLARS IN AID FUNDS. IT THESE FUNDS ARE VOTED SOME WILL UNQUESTIONABLY GO TO AFRICA. BUT NEW FUNDS FOR PORTUGAL WOULD ALSO GIVE US THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH THE

PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT IN DEVELOPING PROJECTS IN SUCH AREAS AS HEALTH, EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, AND WATER AND SEWAGE. WHAT PROJECTS EMERGE WILL AGAIN DEPEND ON THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT'S OWN PRIORITIES, AS WELL AS ON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE CONGRESS TO VOTE THE FUNDS.

17. FROM ALL I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OBSERVE THIS GESTURE OF SUPPORT FROM THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN VERY WELL RECEIVED BY OUR PORTUGUESE FRIENDS. YOU MAY BE INTERESTED TO KNOW THAT ON MARCH 12 OUR VISITING HOUSING TEAM MET WITH THEIR LOCAL COUNTERPARTS AND CONDUCTED BUSINESS AS USUAL.

18. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE ABORTIVE COUP EFFORT OF MARCH 11 HAS NOT CAUSED SOME COMPLICATIONS.

AS YOU ARE AWARE, CERTAIN STATEMENTS WERE MADE ABOUT US INVOLVEMENT AND ABOUT ME PERSONALLY. YOU ARE ALSO AWARE THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE STATE DEPARTMENT PROTESTED THOSE PARTICULAR STATEMENTS AND HAS CATEGORICALLY DENIED ANY US INVOLVEMENT. WHILE I CAN RECOGNIZE THE PASSIONS THAT WERE STIRRED UP ON MARCH 11, I AM SURE THAT ANYONE THINKING THROUGH THE SITUATION REALIZES THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT BE OFFERING AID ON ONE HAND AND BE INVOLVED IN FOLLY ON THE OTHER. NEVERTHELESS HIGHLY IRRESPONSIBLE PRESS INSINUATIONS CONTINUE TO BE MADE BOTH ABOUT US INVOLVEMENT AND ABOUT ME PERSONALLY.

19. IN REGARD TO PRESS RUMORS I WOULD LIKE CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION THE DANGER OF THE TIME GAP INVOLVED BETWEEN THE FIRST PRINTING OF SOME SENSATION CHARGE--SUCH AS THOSE WE HAVE RECENTLY HEARD-- AND THE SUBSEQUENT PUBLICATION OF A REPLY, REBUTTING THE CHARGES AND CLARIFYING THE SITUATION. I WOULD SUGGEST TO YOU THAT ANY TIME YOU SEE IN THE MEDIA ANY ITEM ABOUT THE USG, OR ITS REPRESENTATIVES, THAT DOESN'T SEEM "QUITE RIGHT" TO YOU THAT YOU CONTACT YOUR EMBASSY PRESS SECTION FOR CLARIFICATION RATHER THAN WAIT FOR ANY OFFICIAL COMMENT TO APPEAR IN THE PRESS. I KNOW I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT JUST BECAUSE SOMETHING APPEARS IN PRINT IT DOESN'T NECESSARILY FOLLOW THAT IT IS TRUE.

20. THE KEY QUESTION OF COURSE AS FAR AS PORTUGAL IS CONCERNED IS WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE AFTER THE DISRUPTIVE EVENTS OF MARCH 11. THE UNCERTAINTIES ARE SO OBVIOUS THAT THERE IS NO POINT IN MY MENTIONING THEM. AND I WOULD NEVER PURPORT THAT MY CRYSTAL BALL IS ANY BETTER THAN YOURS. I DON'T EXPECT YOUR PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED OVERNIGHT. THESE ARE THE KINDS OF PROBLEMS THAT ONLY PATIENCE AND PERSISTENCE CAN SOLVE. NOR DO I EXPECT AN IMMEDIATE AND CLEAR

DEFINITION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE NEW MOVE TOWARD SOCIALISM.
MOST AFM MEMBERS WILL TELL YOU THAT PORTUGAL HAS TO FIND ITS
OWN PATH TO SOCIALISM AND THAT WILL TAKE A WHILE.

21. IN THE FACE OF THESE UNCERTAINTIES, IN THE FACE OF ANTI-
AMERICAN STATEMENTS AND DISTORTIONS IN THE PRESS AND ON
THE RADIO, ITS VERY EASY TO FIND THE GLOOMY SIDE OF THE
PICTURE. OBVIOUSLY IT WOULD BE IMPROPER FOR ME TO COMMENT ON
PORTUGUESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE
BRIEFLY SOME OF THE FAVORABLE ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION FROM
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THE US POINT OF VIEW.

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2229

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22. FIRST OF ALL I HAVE YET TO MEET A PORTUGUESE OFFICIAL
WHO DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THAT PORTUGAL IS PART OF EUROPE AND THAT
ITS FUTURE RESTS WITH EUROPE.

23. SECONDLY, THE NATO TIES ARE EXTREMELY STRONG. MANY MEMBERS
OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT HAVE SERVED IN NATO, UNDERSTAND ITS

PURPOSES WELL AND ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITHIN THE NATO FRAMEWORK.

24. THIRDLY, THERE IS AN ENORMOUS RESERVOIR OF GOOD WILL FOR AMERICANS. DESPITE ALL THE PROPAGANDA AND AT TIMES DIRECT THREATS, WE HAVE NO REPORTED INSTANCES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST AMERICANS. I MYSELF HAVE RECEIVED NUMEROUS LETTERS AND OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FROM PORTUGUESE CITIZENS. JUST THE OTHER DAY AS I WAS WALKING TO MY CAR A MAN CAME UP TO ME ON THE STREET, SAID HE JUST WANTED TO SHAKE MY HAND, NOTHING ELSE.

25. FOURTH, THE GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO GO AHEAD WITH ELECTIONS. WHILE THE PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN RESTRICTED THIS IS STILL AN ENCOURAGING STEP.

26. LET ME LEAVE YOU WITH ONE FINAL THOUGHT. WE ARE ALL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TROUBLED BY EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENTS IN PORTUGAL. MUCH OF IT IS PART OF A WELL-ORGANIZED INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN WHICH TAKES ADVANTAGE OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND KNOWLEDGE GAPS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES. FOR EXAMPLE, PEOPLE READILY BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS THE SAME KIND OF CAPITALISM THAT EXISTED HERE IN PORTUGAL UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME. NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH. WE HAVE FREE AND ACTIVE LABOR UNIONS AND INDEED THOSE UNIONS ARE VERY POWERFUL, WE HAVE EFFECTIVE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE PROGRAMS, OUR SOCIAL SECURITY EXPENDITURES RUN IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF 75 BILLION DOLLARS, AND WE HAVE PROGRAMS THAT PROVIDE DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO THE HANDICAPPED, TO BILINGUAL CHILDREN, TO THE MENTALLY RETARDED, TO THE HOMELESS, TO THE ELDERLY AND TO THE POOR. FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH PROGRAMS TO LOW INCOME PEOPLE ARE ON THE ORDER OF 20 BILLION DOLLARS. FAMILIES ON WELFARE IN SOME STATES RECEIVE AS MUCH AS SIX OR SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR. BETWEEN 1969 AND 1975 BENEFIT PAYMENT FOR INDIVIDUALS WENT UP FROM 25 PERCENT OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET TO 45 PERCENT. DURING THE SAME PERIOD DEFENSE EXPENDITURES DROPPED FROM 42 PERCENT TO 27 PERCENT.

27. WHETHER YOU AGREE WITH THE CONCEPT OR NOT, THE UNITED STATES IS ONLY A YEAR OR TWO AWAY FROM A NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM WHICH WILL GUARANTEE TO EVERY AMERICAN ACCESS TO OUR HEALTH SYSTEM NO MATTER WHAT HIS INCOME. WE ALREADY HAVE A SYSTEM OF FEDERAL SCHOLARSHIPS THAT GUARANTEES TO ANY QUALIFIED STUDENT THAT HE CAN GO TO COLLEGE NO MATTER WHAT HIS FAMILY INCOME. AND WE ARE DEBATING AND SOME DAY WILL ENACT, IN MY JUDGMENT, A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME PROGRAM UNDER WHICH NO FAMILY, FOR WHATEVER REASON, CAN FALL UNDER A CERTAIN INCOME LEVEL.

28. IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT YOUR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY MIGHT BE IN THE UNITED STATES, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THESE ARE THE KINDS OF THINGS WE OUGHT TO BE TALKING ABOUT WITH OUR PORTUGUESE COLLEAGUES. MOST OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD STEM FROM INADEQUATE COMMUNICATION AND A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING. IN DIFFICULT SITUATIONS SUCH AS EXISTS TODAY IN PORTUAL WE ALL NEED TO PLACE GREATER EMPHASIS ON COMMUNICATING DIRECTLY AND FRANKLY WITH OUR PORTUGUESE FRIENDS. NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO DRAW BACK. IT IS THE TIME TO MOVE FORWARD.
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